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INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN THE  
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HEARINGS  
BEFORE THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS  
SECOND SESSION

---

JULY 8 AND 15, 1954

---

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

INCLUDING INDEX



UNITED STATES  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1954

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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## PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, \* \* \**

### PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

#### RULE X

##### SEC. 121 STANDING COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \* 17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

#### RULE XI

##### POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \* (q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 83D CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1953

\* \* \* \* \*  
RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:

\* \* \* \* \*  
(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.  
\* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*  
RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

\* \* \* \* \*  
17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American Activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time, investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

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# INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN THE FIELD OF PUBLICATIONS

(March of Labor)

THURSDAY, JULY 8, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

## PUBLIC HEARING

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10:45 a. m., in the caucus room, 362 Old House Office Building, Hon. Harold H. Velde (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Harold H. Velde, (chairman), Kit Clardy, Gordon H. Scherer (appearance noted in transcript), and Francis E. Walter.

Staff members present: Robert L. Kunzig, counsel; W. Jackson Jones, investigator; and Riley Smith, acting for the clerk.

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order.

Let the record show I have appointed a subcommittee consisting of Mr. Clardy, of Michigan, Mr. Walter, of Pennsylvania, and myself as chairman, for the purpose of the hearing this morning.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will John Steuben please step forward.

Are you John Steuben?

Mr. ROBERT Z. LEWIS. No; I am not. Mr. Chairman,—

Mr. VELDE. Well, now, just a minute. You understand—you have a copy of our rules?

Mr. LEWIS. I do not.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Steuben was served with a copy, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Yes. Mr. Steuben was served with a copy; is that right, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. KUNZIG. It is my understanding; yes, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Under the rules of the committee, the counsel for the witness has the right to confer with his client, the witness, and since apparently the witness is not here—is he?

Mr. LEWIS. He is not here.

(Representative Scherer entered the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. VELDE. Then we cannot hear any remarks from you.

Mr. Counsel—

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

Mr. VELDE. I am speaking to committee counsel.

Has a subpoena been served on Mr. Steuben?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes. Apparently Mr. Steuben has failed to respond to the subpoena which was served upon him on June 11 at his residence, 40-50 Denman Street, Elmhurst, Long Island, New York City—

Mr. VELDE. You may retire, Mr. Lewis.

Mr. LEWIS. May I ask a question?

Mr. KUNZIG. By Thomas M. Farley, chief deputy United States marshal, southern district of New York.

Mr. CLARDY. What was the date again, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. KUNZIG. It was served, Mr. Clardy, on June 11, 1954, ordering John Steuben to appear before the Committee on Un-American Activities or duly authorized subcommittee thereof, here in Washington, D. C., in this building, on July 8, 1954.

Mr. CLARDY. Do we have the marshal's return on this subpoena?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, Mr. Clardy; that is what I was reading from.

Mr. VELDE. I suggest you offer that as an exhibit.

Mr. KUNZIG. I do, Mr. Chairman; I offer the pink copy of the subpoena with the marshal's return on the back as Steuben exhibit No. 1.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be admitted in the record at this point.

(Copy of subpoena with United States marshal's return on the back thereof, marked "Steuben Exhibit No. 1" for identification, was received in evidence as Steuben exhibit No. 1.)<sup>1</sup>

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Mr. Chairman, I think I should put into the record that recently we received a letter from Robert Lewis—I take it you are Robert Lewis; is that correct?

Mr. LEWIS. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Enclosing a doctor's report stating that John Steuben was far too sick to testify. I have here that letter, which I should like to mark "Steuben Exhibit No. 2," and that letter asks that the subpoena be withdrawn and that the appearance required of Mr. Steuben before the said committee should be adjourned.

Mr. CLARDY. What was the date of that communication?

Mr. KUNZIG. June 24, 1954, sir, and the doctor's letter—I won't read it—says "any undue physical or emotional stress would be prejudicial to Mr. Steuben's health and would endanger his life." It is signed "Robert V. Sager, M. D.," 8 West 58th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

Mr. CLARDY. What was the date of that letter?

Mr. KUNZIG. The date of that letter was June 17, 1954.

Mr. SCHERER. What does the doctor contend is wrong with the witness?

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you wish me to read the letter, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. VELDE. No; just state generally what the doctor says.

Mr. KUNZIG. I am not a medical man. It is a lengthy thing with a lot of medical terms in it.

Mr. CLARDY. May I inquire, is that the communication that was called to our attention in executive session a little while back, the substance of that letter?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Am I correct in that? That was called to our attention, as I recall it.

<sup>1</sup> Retained in committee files.

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. Now, have you proceeded, Mr. Counsel, to cause an examination to be made of the subpoenaed witness?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, Mr. Chairman. As is well known, this committee has always honored a request for continuance based upon serious illness, but it has been necessary to have a medical examination in such instances performed by a doctor from the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. This is in accordance with usual court procedure in such a situation.

Dr. V. J. Dorset, D-o-r-s-e-t, of the Public Health Service, conducted a detailed examination of John Steuben a few days ago and reported to this committee that there was no reason why Mr. Steuben could not testify this morning.

I was called on the telephone yesterday by Robert Lewis, Mr. Steuben's counsel. Mr. Lewis asked whether it would be necessary for Mr. Steuben to appear. I informed him courteously that since the physician especially assigned to examine Mr. Steuben by the Federal Government had reported that he was physically able to testify, no continuance of any kind could possibly be granted.

I informed him that the subpoena was properly outstanding, had been properly served, and that the committee would expect the witness to appear here and testify at the proper hour this morning.

Mr. Lewis informed me that his client would refuse to appear, and that he would not produce his client for this committee this morning.

I then called to his attention a possible danger of a contempt citation if Mr. Steuben should willfully fail to appear.

I have exhibit 3, Mr. Chairman, the report of the doctor, V. J. Dorset, ending with the statement:

*"In my opinion Mr. John Steuben is able to testify before the Un-American Activities Committee even though he is disabled for duties requiring unusual physical exercise."*

In other words, the Government doctor for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare says that the man can testify and the lawyer was notified that he should be present, sir.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Chairman, in view of the fact that one doctor says he is able to appear and the other doctor says he isn't, it seems to me the thing to do would be to continue the subpoena for a week, and at the end of the week have another examination.

Mr. VELDE. I concur with the gentleman.

Is there any objection?

Mr. CLARDY. No. I think that would be the wisest course. However, I think there should be a communication addressed forthwith to the gentleman advising him of the fact that unless he does appear, barring, of course, an adverse second doctor's report, the committee will give serious thought to a contempt citation.

Of course, if he is excused at that time because the Government doctor says he is incapable of appearing, we won't cite him, but I, for one, would want to cite him if he fails to appear on the second occasion that we have a doctor's report that says he is able to appear.

Mr. VELDE. I want to say for the record that the committee, to my knowledge, has always been very lenient as far as witnesses who appear with a legitimate medical ailment of some kind.

However, in this particular case we do have a certificate from the doctor that is in the service of the Government that says Mr. Steuben

is able to appear, and I would suggest, therefore, Mr. Counsel, that you cause our doctor or a specialist to reexamine the witness and if it does turn out to be that he is able to appear here then, of course, we would be derelict in our duty if we didn't insist that he appear or cite him for contempt.

Mr. CLARDY. May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the second examination be conducted by another or a different doctor so we will have the consensus of at least two separate physicians.

Mr. VELDE. Yes, the suggestion is in line. Mr. Counsel, will you see that that is done?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes.

Mr. SCHIERER. I suggest it be a specialist.

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, Mr. Scherer.

Mr. VELDE. Does the medical certificate of the doctor for the witness show that he has a heart ailment, or generally what does it show?

Mr. KUNZIG. Here is the letter from the doctor, Mr. Chairman. I don't know anything about medicine.

Mr. VELDE. I don't know anything more about medicine than you do.

Yes, that looks like coronary arterial sclerosis.

Proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. I shall immediately take it up with the department of health and welfare in New York.

May I respectfully suggest that you order the witness to appear here on Thursday, July 15, 1 week from today.

Mr. CLARDY. You mean, of course, provided the physician's report does not indicate he should not appear to testify?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, so ordered.

Mr. KUNZIG. I should like to introduce in the record as Steuben exhibits Nos. 2 and 3 the letter from Mr. Lewis with the report of Dr. Sager attached thereto, and the report of Dr. Dorset, the letter from Mr. Lewis being Steuben exhibit No. 2, and the report from Dr. Dorset being Steuben exhibit No. 3.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, they will be received in evidence at this point.

(Letter dated June 24, 1954, from Robert Z. Lewis to Hon. Harold H. Velde, chairman, with report of Dr. Robert V. Sager, dated June 17, 1954, attached thereto, marked "Steuben Exhibit No. 2" for identification, was received in evidence as Steuben exhibit No. 2.)

(Report dated July 6, 1954, of Dr. V. J. Dorset, marked "Steuben Exhibit No. 3" for identification, was received in evidence as Steuben exhibit No. 3.)<sup>1</sup>

Mr. WALTER. Of course, you will notify him in the usual manner.

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, sir. He will be notified this morning by letter.

Mr. LEWIS. May I request that I be notified, too?

Mr. KUNZIG. You will be notified, sir; yes.

Mr. VELDE. We will be in short recess for 5 minutes.

(Whereupon, at 11:00 a. m., a short recess was taken, after which the proceedings were resumed as follows:)

Mr. VELDE. Are you ready, Mr. Counsel? .

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes.

<sup>1</sup> Retained in committee files.

Mr. VELDE. Let the record show that I have appointed a subcommittee consisting of Mr. Clardy, Mr. Scherer, Mr. Walter, and myself for the purpose of the next hearing.

Call your next witness, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Leonard De Caux.

Mr. VELDE. Will you raise your right hand.

In the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee, do you solemnly swear you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DE CAUX. I do.

Mr. VELDE. You may be seated.

**TESTIMONY OF LEONARD (LEN) H. DE CAUX, ACCCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, MORTON FRIEDMAN**

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Mr. Chairman, may I ask that those lights behind you be turned out? They bother me.

Mr. VELDE. I presume you are counsel for Mr. De Caux?

Mr. DE CAUX. He is.

Mr. VELDE. Does the witness request it?

Mr. DE CAUX. Yes, please.

Mr. VELDE. Do they bother you?

Mr. DE CAUX. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you state your full name, please, sir?

Mr. DE CAUX. My name is Len De Caux.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that the full name?

Mr. DE CAUX. Len H. De Caux.

Mr. KUNZIG. Your full name is Leonard H.—was it—

Mr. DE CAUX. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. De Caux. Is that D-e-C-a-u-x?

Mr. DE CAUX. That is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. I see that you are accompanied by counsel.

Will counsel please identify himself for the record, and give your name and office address?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. Morton Friedman, 401 Broadway, New York City.

Mr. KUNZIG. There is one thing I want to get straight for the record, Mr. De Caux. Is that letter "D" a small letter or a capital letter?

Mr. DE CAUX. Sometimes one way and sometimes the other.

Mr. KUNZIG. What way do you prefer?

It doesn't matter? All right.

Now, Mr. De Caux, would you give us your present residence, please?

Mr. DE CAUX. South Ingleside Avenue, Chicago.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is there a street address?

Mr. DE CAUX. 5219.

Mr. KUNZIG. What is your present employment, sir?

Mr. DE CAUX. I am employed in the printing business.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is it a private printing business?

Mr. DE CAUX. It is a private commercial concern; yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. De Caux, would you please give the committee a résumé of your educational background, telling us, first, where you were born, and giving us the details of your education.

Mr. DE CAUX. I was born in New Zealand. I went to school there and in England.

Mr. KUNZIG. When were you born?

Mr. DE CAUX. October 14, 1899.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where did you go to school?

Mr. DE CAUX. I went to school there in New Zealand, and later in England.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where did you go to school in England?

Mr. DE CAUX. The Harrow School, Oxford University.

Mr. KUNZIG. When did you graduate from Oxford?

Mr. DE CAUX. I did not graduate; I left before graduation.

Mr. KUNZIG. What years were you at Oxford?

Mr. DE CAUX. I don't want to misstate; I am a little vague. I went there after the First World War; I think it was 1919, and I left in 1920 or '21. I was there about a year and a half.

Mr. KUNZIG. And then from there where did you go on to school?

Mr. DE CAUX. I left school and went to work in the United States, entered the United States.

Mr. VELDE. You went to work where?

Mr. DE CAUX. I went to work in a great many different jobs, in the United States. I had to pick up any job I could around the country. I emigrated here and worked in any job that came along.

Mr. CLARDY. If you keep your voice at about that level we can hear you.

Mr. DE CAUX. That is good.

Mr. KUNZIG. What is Brookwood, B-r-o-o-k-w-o-o-d, Labor College?

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. DE CAUX. It was a trade union college.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you go to study there?

Mr. DE CAUX. I did; yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. When was that?

Mr. DE CAUX. 1921 or '22, I forget which.

Mr. WALTER. Where is that school?

Mr. DE CAUX. It is no longer in existence.

Mr. WALTER. Where was it?

Mr. DE CAUX. Katonah, K-a-t-o-n-a-h, New York.

Mr. KUNZIG. So this was after you came to the United States of America?

Mr. DE CAUX. I had been here a year or so.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you working at the same time you were studying there?

Mr. DE CAUX. Yes; I was working there.

Mr. KUNZIG. So that ends your formal schooling, is that correct?

Mr. DE CAUX. That is correct; yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, would you please give the committee a brief résumé of your employment background, telling us the various places you have worked since you came to the United States of America?

Mr. DE CAUX. That is an awfully long story, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. Tell us the highlights.

Mr. DE CAUX. I worked in a great many different industries as a laborer.

Mr. KUNZIG. I see.

Mr. DE CAUX. And all over this country.

Mr. KUNZIG. All right. Then did you ever become a foreign correspondent?

Mr. DE CAUX. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. When was that?

Mr. DE CAUX. I forget that date.

Mr. KUNZIG. About '25?

Mr. DE CAUX. Excuse me. May I just consult my counsel?

Mr. KUNZIG. Certainly; any time.

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, would you please read the question to the witness?

(The reporter read the record as follows:)

Then did you ever become a foreign correspondent?

Mr. DE CAUX. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. When was that?

Mr. KUNZIG. When was it that you were a foreign correspondent?

Mr. DE CAUX. My memory is a little vague. I don't want to give dates that are wrong. It could be '25.

Mr. KUNZIG. For what paper or group of papers?

Mr. DE CAUX. It was for Trade Union News Service, Federated Press.

Mr. KUNZIG. After you were a foreign correspondent in Europe—was it Europe?

Mr. DE CAUX. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. In 1925, where did you go on from there to your next working assignment?

Mr. DE CAUX. I worked for the United Mine Workers of America in Springfield, Ill.

Mr. KUNZIG. In what capacity was that, sir?

Mr. DE CAUX. Assistant editor of the Illinois Miner.

Mr. KUNZIG. Illinois Miner?

Mr. DE CAUX. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. And what was your next assignment after working on the Illinois Miner?

Mr. DE CAUX. I worked for the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers as assistant editor of the local journal for some 6 or 7 years.

Mr. VELDE. Will you tell me a little more about the publication Illinois Miner?

Mr. DE CAUX. It was a publication published by the United Mine Workers district in Illinois. I don't think it is in existence now; it was back in 1925 or '26.

Mr. VELDE. Was it privately owned?

Mr. DE CAUX. No, no; it was owned by the union.

Mr. VELDE. Owned by the United Mine Workers?

Mr. DE CAUX. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, you mentioned that you worked for the Locomotive Engineers Journal. Now, what period of time, roughly, was that, to the best of your knowledge?

Mr. DE CAUX. Around seven and a half years, up to about 1935.

Mr. KUNZIG. All right, and where did you work after that?

Mr. DE CAUX. '34. I worked for a period in Washington, for the Federated Press.

Mr. VELDE. For who?

Mr. DE CAUX. Federated Press.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was your position with the Federated Press?

Mr. DE CAUX. Washington correspondent.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I think the record should show at this point that the Federated Press was cited as a Communist controlled organization financed by the American Fund for Public Service and the Robert Marshall Foundation, both principal sources of funds for Communist enterprises, by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in 1944; also by the California committee.

Now, after you worked for the Federated Press, what was your next assignment?

Mr. DE CAUX. I became publicity director for the CIO.

Mr. KUNZIG. That was on a nationwide basis, is that correct?

Mr. DE CAUX. Correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Publicity director for the CIO; and how long did you work as publicity director for the CIO?

Mr. DE CAUX. Eleven and a half years.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you have any other function in addition to being publicity director; did you edit any other paper there?

Mr. DE CAUX. I edited the CIO News.

Mr. KUNZIG. You edited the CIO News?

Mr. DE CAUX. Right.

Mr. KUNZIG. And when did you end your tour working for the CIO?

Mr. DE CAUX. 1947.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, what have you done since 1947?

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. DE CAUX. Could I have the question again?

(The reporter read the question.)

Mr. FRIEDMAN. That is an awfully general question.

Mr. KUNZIG. I am talking about your employment. I think that is clear, but if you wish it further clarified what type of employment have you been engaged in since 1947?

Mr. DE CAUX. I have been in the printing business, as I stated.

Mr. KUNZIG. No, not what you have stated already. That is what you are doing presently?

Mr. DE CAUX. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. So we are interested in what you have done, specifically what you have done since 1947, if you can tell us the organizations and places you have worked.

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. DE CAUX. I think I must decline to answer a general question of that kind on the ground that it is leading up to a matter on which I would claim this committee is exceeding its rights by infringing on a question of the freedom of the press and my constitutional rights thereunder in the nature of this hearing, and on the further ground that I understand no person can be required to bear witness against himself.

Mr. CLARDY. May I inquire, Witness, what is it you think we are leading up to?

Mr. DE CAUX. Well—

Mr. CLARDY. I am asking that—

Mr. DE CAUX. Yes, I understand.

Mr. CLARDY. Because I want to see whether or not you have reasonable grounds upon which to invoke the fifth amendment, as you apparently were intending to do.

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. DE CAUX. The reason for doing that is that I understand this hearing is listed this morning—I didn't know I was subpenaed as a matter of investigating Communist publications.

Mr. CLARDY. And that is the matter you think we are leading up to?

Mr. DE CAUX. I think so, yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Is it your understanding that any connection with a Communist publication would in some way incriminate you?

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. DE CAUX. I can only repeat on that subject—

Mr. CLARDY. No, just answer my question.

Mr. DE CAUX. I can answer by saying that it would infringe upon my constitutional right not to be required to bear witness against myself or to testify against myself.

Mr. CLARDY. I am trying to find out what it is that you think is of a criminal nature that you have engaged in about which you think we are going to inquire.

Now, I am narrowing it down to start with by asking you if it is your conception that testimony by you that you have in some way been connected with a Communist publication would incriminate you.

Is that the basis for what you are getting at?

Mr. DE CAUX. I think, I am afraid in trying to answer questions like that that I would be forfeiting my rights under the constitution, and I would prefer to stand upon the basis that I cannot be required to bear witness against myself, and—

Mr. CLARDY. My question is—

Mr. DE CAUX. I know, sir, but I would like to plead my constitutional rights.

Mr. CLARDY. You haven't answered my question at all; you haven't even come close.

I will put it in another way: Have you had any connection with any Communist publication of any kind whatsoever?

Mr. DE CAUX. I would like to decline to answer that question on the same grounds, that no person can be required to be a witness against himself.

Mr. CLARDY. Now, since you have been—

Mr. DE CAUX. And also, incidentally, more specifically on the question of freedom of the press. I do not think it is the function of the Congress in this country to investigate publications as to their political attitudes or opinions or controls, or policies. I regard it as being an infringement on personal liberties.

Mr. CLARDY. I am not asking you about that at all, and my only question was and is, is it your concept that by telling us that you were connected in some way with a Communist publication that would tend to incriminate you? Is that the basis for your invocation of the fifth amendment?

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. CLARDY. If it is, I want to tell you now, in my opinion, it is not proper.

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. DE CAUX. I don't think I can answer your question, Mr. Congressman, on the grounds that your question in itself is a violation of the rights of a person not to be required to testify against himself, and

also in violation of the first amendment in its protection of freedom of opinion and freedom of the press.

Mr. CLARDY. Well, it is neither, but I have no further questions. It is obvious you don't intend to answer.

Mr. VELDE. Let me disabuse your mind of the idea that we are investigating the press or any publications whatsoever. We are asking you to state your employment. We are investigating you personally. We have information that you have been connected with Communist activities.

Now, we want to give you the opportunity to answer the questions put to you by counsel and members of the committee to admit or deny your membership in the Communist Party or your connection with the Communist Party or Communist activities in any way. I do want to make it clear that we are not investigating the press. We are investigating you personally. I want your answers to the questions put to you by counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. De Caux, are you presently a citizen of the United States of America?

Mr. DE CAUX. Yes, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. When and where were you naturalized?

Mr. DE CAUX. On that again, I am not sure of the specific date. I think it was 1927. It was in Cleveland, Ohio; I think in 1927.

Mr. KUNZIG. I hand you a document marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 1" for identification, and ask you if this is a photostatic copy of your petition for naturalization and your certificate of naturalization?

(At this point, Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. DE CAUX. It would appear to be so, but I couldn't say for certain.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I offer in evidence this document marked "Exhibit 1" for identification as De Caux Exhibit No. 1.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be received at this point.

(Photostatic copy of a document entitled "Petition for Naturalization" marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 1" for identification was received in evidence as De Caux Exhibit No. 1.)

Mr. WALTER. May I see that exhibit, please? Isn't this your signature?

Mr. DE CAUX. It appears to be so, sir; I couldn't say for certain. Signatures can be changed often.

Mr. WALTER. Now, you know your own signature when you see it?

Mr. DE CAUX. Yes, but it appears to be so, but I have seen other people imitate my signature—

Mr. WALTER. Are you trying to create the impression that someone must have forged your name to get you to be a citizen?

Mr. DE CAUX. No, sir. I want to be very exact. I cannot say exactly that is my signature after so many years, or after knowing the genesis of the particular document, I am trying to be exact.

Mr. WALTER. When did you obtain your naturalization certificate?

Mr. DE CAUX. I don't remember the exact date. I think it is on the document.

Mr. WALTER. Where were you born?

Mr. DE CAUX. New Zealand.

Mr. WALTER. Westport, New Zealand?

Mr. DE CAUX. That is correct, sir.

Mr. WALTER. And somebody might have put Westport, New Zealand, on this?

(No verbal response.)

Mr. WALTER. When did you take out your first papers?

Mr. DE CAUX. I don't remember.

Mr. WALTER. The 25th of August 1923?

Mr. DE CAUX. It could have been.

Mr. WALTER. At the time you petitioned for citizenship did you live at 3867 West 38th Street, Cleveland, Ohio?

Mr. DE CAUX. I have forgotten the address where I lived.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you ever live there?

Mr. DE CAUX. I have forgotten, sir, if that is the address where I lived.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you ever live in Cleveland?

Mr. DE CAUX. Oh, yes.

Mr. WALTER. Did you arrive in the States on the ship *Haverford*?

Mr. DE CAUX. Yes, sir.

Mr. WALTER. On the 14th day of April, 1921?

Mr. DE CAUX. I don't remember.

Mr. WALTER. Or thereabouts?

Mr. DE CAUX. I don't remember.

Mr. WALTER. You did arrive at the port of Philadelphia, though, didn't you?

Mr. DE CAUX. I remember that.

Mr. WALTER. You remember that?

Mr. DE CAUX. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. I will ask you again, is this your signature?

Mr. DE CAUX. To be very exact, if somebody presented your signature and said, "Is this your signature?" you would say, "It would appear to be so and I assume it to be so, but not positively," particularly after a long period of time. I am not trying to hedge on the thing at all; I am trying to be exact.

Mr. CLARDY. You wouldn't deny it is your signature?

Mr. DE CAUX. No, sir, I wouldn't deny it.

Mr. WALTER. Who were your witnesses on this application?

Mr. DE CAUX. I don't recall who my witnesses were.

Mr. WALTER. Do you know Mrs. Andrew Meyer?

Mr. DE CAUX. I did a long time ago, yes.

Mr. WALTER. She was one of your witnesses, wasn't she?

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. WALTER. Do you know Mrs. Andrew Meyer?

Mr. VELDE. May I suggest that he answer the other question which you asked?

Mr. DE CAUX. May I see the document?

Mr. FRIEDMAN. May we see the document for a second, sir?

Mr. WALTER. In a moment.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. All right.

Mr. WALTER. The name is just printed here as one of the witnesses on behalf of a Leonard Howard De Caux. Your middle name happens to be Howard, doesn't it?

Mr. DE CAUX. Yes, sir.

Mr. WALTER. Well, Mrs. Andrew Meyer's name appears as a witness on the application for citizenship. Do you know that woman?

Mr. DE CAUX. I think I knew somebody of that name a long time ago. I don't want to search too far into my memory.

Mr. WALTER. Maybe this will refresh your recollection. She gave her address as 3867 West 38th Street, which is the address you gave on the application. Does that refresh your recollection?

Mr. DE CAUX. I don't recall the exact number where I lived. I am sorry.

Mr. WALTER. Do you recall living at the same address with a woman who was a witness on your application for naturalization?

Mr. DE CAUX. That is my impression, but I don't know whether she was a witness or not.

Mr. WALTER. Did you know Fred Jerger, J-e-r-g-e-r?

Mr. DE CAUX. Yes, I did know him a long time ago.

Mr. WALTER. He was also one of the witnesses on your application for citizenship, is that correct?

Mr. DE CAUX. If that document is correct, that would be so, then. I don't recall the exact circumstances. I am sorry, sir.

Mr. WALTER. Then I ask you again, is this your signature on this application?

Mr. DE CAUX. I would say that it appears to be so, sir, but I wouldn't say for positively.

Mr. SCHERER. Witness, you said you severed your connection with the CIO in the year 1947. Is my recollection correct in that respect?

Mr. DE CAUX. No, I didn't say I severed my connection, sir. I said I worked for them up until 1947.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, how did you happen to leave the employ of the CIO then if your connections were not severed?

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. DE CAUX. I resigned.

Mr. SCHERER. That was in 1947?

Mr. DE CAUX. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. Were you requested to resign?

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. DE CAUX. I think, Mr. Congressman, I will have to resort to my privilege under the Constitution not to bear witness against myself and decline to answer that question.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, Mr. Chairman, I ask that you direct the witness to answer my question as to whether or not he was requested to resign.

Mr. VELDE. Yes, I see no reason why the committee should not have that information. As a matter of fact, it is entitled to the information, and you are directed to answer the question as to whether or not you were requested to resign.

Mr. DE CAUX. All right. I was requested to resign.

Mr. SCHERER. And why were you requested to resign?

Mr. DE CAUX. Mr. Murray said he was not satisfied with the public relations of the CIO or the content of the paper I was editing, and that was the only reason given.

Mr. SCHERER. That was the only reason?

Mr. DE CAUX. That is correct, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Your membership in the Communist Party didn't have anything to do with the request to resign?

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. DE CAUX. Mr. Congressman, I think I must decline to answer that question on the same grounds that I have stated before.

Mr. SCHERER. Were you a member of the party at that time?

Mr. DE CAUX. I must decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. SCHERER. Of course, again, you don't have to decline. Do you decline?

Mr. DE CAUX. I do decline.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, immediately after leaving the CIO, by whom were you employed?

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. DE CAUX. I was not immediately employed.

Mr. SCHERER. What was your next employment, then, after leaving the CIO?

Mr. DE CAUX. I don't want to misstate myself there. I might have had some temporary jobs; I don't recall what they were.

Mr. SCHERER. What is the next job that you do recall?

Mr. DE CAUX. Well, on that question, I think I must again raise the constitutional question of freedom of the press and also my right not to be required to be a witness against myself.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, Mr. Chairman, I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question that I asked.

Mr. VELDE. Yes. Without objection, you are requested to answer the question asked you by Mr. Scherer.

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, the witness is ready to answer.

Mr. DE CAUX. I must respectfully decline to answer that question on the constitutional grounds already cited.

Mr. SCHERER. Remember, Witness, I am not asking you with reference to any other employment except with reference to the employment you had immediately—not immediately, but the employment you had following the employment with the CIO. You understand that to be my question?

Mr. DE CAUX. Well, on that, I have told you I don't recall—oh, wait a minute, yes.

Frankly, my memory is a little bit vague on that following period.

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. DE CAUX. No, I will still decline on constitutional grounds to answer.

Mr. SCHERER. Will you tell us, then, any employment you had between the time that you left the CIO and the present date?

Mr. DE CAUX. No, sir; I think I will decline to answer that question on the same grounds cited.

Mr. SCHERER. What are you doing now?

Mr. DE CAUX. I am employed in the printing business, a private commercial concern.

Mr. SCHERER. Private what?

Mr. DE CAUX. Private commercial concern.

Mr. SCHERER. And where is that?

Mr. DE CAUX. In Chicago.

Mr. SCHERER. What is the name of the concern?

Mr. DE CAUX. I would prefer not to give its name for publicity because it might be embarrassing to the company concerned, which is a purely private concern and in no way involved here.

Mr. SCHERER. All right.

Mr. VELDE. Now, I will direct you to answer that question as to your present employment.

Mr. DE CAUX. Mr. Chairman, you said I was directed to answer—

Mr. VELDE. As to the name of the concern you are associated with.

Mr. DE CAUX. Surely. I just raised the point that it might be embarrassing to a party not involved.

Mr. VELDE. Why would it be embarrassing?

Mr. DE CAUX. Because they are in a private competitive business, and if they see their firm mentioned in the papers it might in some way embarrass them.

Mr. VELDE. As a matter of fact, aren't you employed with the firm known as the March of Labor?

Mr. DE CAUX. No, sir.

Mr. VELDE. What is the firm, then, that you are employed by?

Mr. DE CAUX. I might ask the privilege of giving it to the committee off the record rather than on the record. It is purely a business matter. I mean, as I told you, it is a private commercial concern in no sense political or—

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. VELDE. If you are not ashamed—

Mr. DE CAUX. All right. I am certainly not ashamed of it. I don't want to embarrass them in any way; that would not be fair.

Mr. CLARDY. How on earth would that embarrass them for us to know you are working for them? Are you implying here that you are engaged in some activity that is contrary to the best interests of the Government and that your activity with them would embarrass them for that reason?

If you have nothing to hide, I don't know why your connection with them would in any way embarrass them. Maybe it would embarrass you to have us know about this, but I don't know how it can embarrass them.

Mr. SCHERER. There is a direction, I think, to answer the question with reference to the name of his present employer.

Mr. VELDE. Yes, you are directed to answer the question as to the name of your present employer.

Mr. DE CAUX. Yes, sir. Might I hand it up to you here—

Mr. VELDE. No, you are called upon to give testimony in open session.

Mr. DE CAUX. It is the firm of Stewart & Friar in Chicago.

Mr. SCHERER. What type of printing business?

Mr. DE CAUX. They do commercial publication work, trade publications, house organs, and so forth.

Mr. SCHERER. And what do you do?

Mr. DE CAUX. I am a proofreader. I work in the shop.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, what was your employment immediately preceding your employment with this company which you have just mentioned?

I will withdraw that question temporarily, Witness.

When did you go to work with this Chicago company?

Mr. DE CAUX. Last December.

Mr. SCHERER. And by whom were you employed immediately preceding your employment with this company?

Mr. DE CAUX. That question I would like to decline to answer on the constitutional grounds cited.

Mr. SCHERER. All right. Now, will you tell us the name of any other company by whom you were employed between 1947 and December of last year?

Mr. DE CAUX. No, I would like to decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you receive any compensation from the Communist Party between the year 1947 and December of last year?

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. SCHERER. Isn't it a fact that you did receive such compensation?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, I want to go back to where we were asking you about your employment in 1947, 1948, and so forth.

When I got to 1948 you refused to answer on the ground it might incriminate you.

Isn't it a fact that you worked for the National Wallace for President Committee and that in their listed expenditures published it lists Leonard H. De Caux, New York City, salary, \$339, and a little later, \$479.04? Did you work for the Wallace for President committee?

Mr. CLARDY. What dates?

Mr. KUNZIG. 1948.

Mr. DECAUX. I decline to answer on constitutional grounds.

Mr. SCHERER. How could that possibly incriminate you?

Mr. DE CAUX. That question I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. SCHERER. I ask that you direct the witness to answer whether he worked for the Wallace for President Club.

Mr. VELDE. Yes. The committee has the duty imposed upon it to investigate concerning subversive activity.

The question asked you by Mr. Scherer is in line with the performance of our duty to the American people, and we have a perfect right to have that information, and you are directed to answer the question.

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. DE CAUX. I should like to decline to answer that question on the basis of the first amendment and the right of American citizens to have their own political opinions and not to have their politics investigated by a Congress and—

Mr. VELDE. We are not investigating politics. We are investigating communism at the present time.

Mr. DE CAUX. And I decline to answer on the ground of the right to freedom of opinion, and so forth, and also on the further ground that no person can be called upon to be a witness against himself.

Mr. WALTER. Now, by that answer you have led me to believe that in your judgment the Wallace for President movement was Communist. It is the first time anybody has gotten that close to a charge of that sort.

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. CLARDY. Wouldn't you say, Mr. Walter, either Communist or criminal of some nature, because, obviously, invoking the fifth amendment in connection with that would have one of those two connotations?

Mr. SCHERER. Do you have a question pending?

Mr. WALTER. Yes, there is a question pending.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. May we have it read back?

Mr. WALTER. Well, you are not trying to create the impression, are you, that in your judgment the Wallace for President movement was a Communist movement?

Mr. DE CAUX. I am trying to create no impressions, sir. I am simply standing on my constitutional right not to answer the question.

Mr. CLARDY. Which part of the Constitution?

Mr. DE CAUX. On the first amendment, the right of freedom of speech, press, and opinion, the right of free political activity in this country, and on the grounds, further, of the amendment that says that a witness may not be required to testify against himself.

Mr. WALTER. If you are correct, then, every election official that asks a person's politics when they ask for a ballot has violated the Constitution of the United States by so doing.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. CLARDY. I think he should be directed to answer that question propounded by Mr. Walter.

Mr. VELDE. What was the question?

Mr. WALTER. The question is whether or not he was trying to create the impression that the Wallace for President movement was Communist.

Mr. VELDE. Yes. You are directed to answer.

Mr. DE CAUX. I have stated I was trying to create no impression.

Mr. CLARDY. Well, you have been directed by the Chair to answer the question and you are evading and not answering.

Mr. DE CAUX. No, the question is, am I trying to create the impression, and my answer is, no, I am trying to create no impression.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, Witness, is your refusal to answer with reference to your employment by the Wallace Committee based upon the fact that you were working for that committee at the direction of the Communist Party? That is the only reason I can see that it might tend to incriminate you or you might by some stretch of the imagination invoke the fifth amendment.

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. SCHERER. Is that the reason you invoke the fifth amendment in refusing to answer the question?

Mr. DE CAUX. The only impression I wish to create in the answers I have given is simply that I am refusing to answer the question on constitutional grounds.

Mr. CLARDY. May I ask a question?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Witness, would you not agree that if Communist connections should be shown, I mean your Communist connections should be shown with publications of the kind that have been mentioned, and others, that that might endanger the freedom of the press, have some connection—

Mr. DE CAUX. It is a hypothetical question, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. What is that?

Mr. DE CAUX. It is a hypothetical question.

Mr. CLARDY. Hypothetical or not, the safety of the Nation is involved in it.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. I think it is a purely legal proposition.

Mr. CLARDY. I did not address my question to you at all. You have no right to address the Chair or the committee.

I will come back to that later, Mr. Chairman. I want to explore it.

Mr. VELDE. All right.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have in my hand a copy of the Daily Worker of Thursday, May 27, 1948, and I would like to read, Mr. Chairman, a brief story headed "De Caux New Wallace Aide":

Appointment of Len DeCaux as director of public relations for the National Labor Committee for Wallace and Taylor was announced today by Albert J. Fitzgerald, chairman of the Labor Committee and co-chairman of the National Wallace for President Committee.

De Caux was for 12 years national publicity director of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and editor of the CIO News. Previous to that, he served for 8 years as assistant editor of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers journal, and earlier, was assistant editor of the Illinois Miner, United Mine Workers' organ.

I would like to offer this document into evidence as exhibit 2, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be received in evidence at this point.

(Photostatic copy of page 7 of The Daily Worker, Thursday, May 27, 1948, marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 2" for identification, received in evidence as De Caux Exhibit No. 2).<sup>1</sup>

Mr. SCHERER. Counsel, announcement made in what paper?

Mr. KUNZIG. Daily Worker, Mr. Scherer.

Mr. CLARDY. And the date?

Mr. KUNZIG. May 27, 1948.

Mr. SCHERER. My question—

Mr. CLARDY. You got a partial answer there.

Mr. SCHERER. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. I should like to offer in evidence as De Caux exhibit No. 3 a memo to all press and radio correspondents from Ralph E. Shikes, public relations director, National Wallace for President Committee, which talks about the founding convention of the new party, and so on and so forth, and says:

The following staff members are at your service. If you have any questions or wish to arrange any special interviews please feel free to contact them at any time during the day or during the reasonable hours of the night:

And under "Labor Press" it lists Len De Caux.

I offer this in evidence as De Caux exhibit No. 3, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be admitted at this point.

(Photostatic copy of memo to all press and radio correspondents from Ralph E. Shikes, marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 3" for identification, was received in evidence as De Caux Exhibit No. 3).<sup>1</sup>

Mr. KUNZIG. Once again, and before we leave this subject, were you connected with the Wallace for President movement?

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer the question.

Mr. CLARDY. I ask that he be directed to answer that.

Mr. VELDE. Yes; you are directed to answer that question, Mr. De Caux.

<sup>1</sup> Retained in committee files.

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the ground of the first amendment covering freedom of political activity, and also on the further ground that a witness is not required to testify against himself.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, for the record, and to make sure the record is clear, you have refused to answer any question about employment in '48. I am going to take you through those years.

Where were you employed in 1949?

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. DE CAUX. I will continue to decline to answer the questions on the grounds already stated.

Mr. KUNZIG. I ask that he be directed, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Yes. Your employment is a matter of concern to this committee. We have a right to question you about your employment, and I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. DE CAUX. I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds already stated.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where were you employed in 1950?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. KUNZIG. I ask that he be directed, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. You are directed to answer the question propounded to you by counsel.

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the same grounds already stated.

Mr. CLARDY. May I make a suggestion?

You asked where he was employed. What might suggest that you are asking only as to the city or the town. Go over those two years again and ask him by whom he was employed, because I think that the "where" will have to do with the town or city.

Mr. KUNZIG. By whom were you employed in 1949?

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. DE CAUX. I respectfully decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. VELDE. Again, you are directed to answer the question.

Mr. DE CAUX. I will repeat my refusal on the same grounds.

Mr. KUNZIG. By whom were you employed in 1950?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on constitutional grounds already cited.

Mr. VELDE. You are directed to answer the question.

Mr. DE CAUX. I still decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. FRIEDMAN. May I address a question to the chairman?

Mr. VELDE. I think counsel is familiar with the rules of the committee. You have a right to consult with your witness.

Mr. DE CAUX. Mr. Chairman, I would like for the record to make it quite clear that the grounds on which I decline are in the record. I have had to avoid too much repetition, and I said "on the same grounds."

Mr. KUNZIG. That will be clearly understood, the same grounds being the first and fifth amendments given earlier this morning.

By whom were you employed in 1951?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. KUNZIG. I ask that he be directed, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. You are directed to answer that question.

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. KUNZIG. By whom were you employed in 1952?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline on the same grounds.

Mr. KUNZIG. I ask that he be directed, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. You are directed to answer that question.

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, isn't it a fact that the publication known as the March of Labor, No. 2, issue of February, 1952, with the headline "Murder in the Mines," shows that Len De Caux appears as associate editor of the March of Labor starting in February of 1952; is that not correct?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds of the first amendment, that it is an infringement upon freedom of the press, and, of course, on the further ground that a witness cannot be required to testify against himself.

Mr. KUNZIG. My question was: Doesn't the document show that a Len De Caux was in that position.

Will you please look at the document marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 4" for identification, and I ask you——

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Whether or not it doesn't show that a Len De Caux was in the position of associate editor of the March of Labor?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer.

Mr. SCHERER. What was the date of that publication?

Mr. CLARDY. I ask that he be directed to answer that last question.

Mr. VELDE. Yes. You are directed to answer the last question.

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. KUNZIG. The date, Mr. Scherer, was February 1952.

Now, this document which is marked "Exhibit 4" for identification I will hand you back again and ask you whether on the back marked "Inside CIO. At last, the man most uniquely qualified to present the inside facts regarding the CIO \* \* \*. Len De Caux \* \* \* the man with a meat ax"—I ask you if that isn't your picture?

Mr. CLARDY. Man with the what?

Mr. KUNZIG. Meat ax.

Mr. CLARDY. I heard of that in connection with appropriations.

Mr. DE CAUX. I am not responsible for what you are reading, but I must decline to answer that question.

Mr. SCHERER. In February of 1952 were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer that question on the grounds cited.

Mr. CLARDY. May I ask a question?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you recognize the picture on the back of the copy of the March of Labor for February 1952, that was exhibited to you and is now being held up by counsel so you may see it again?

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. DE CAUX. I would decline to answer.

Mr. CLARDY. I ask that he be directed to answer.

Mr. VELDE. Certainly. You are directed to answer.

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. CLARDY. Isn't it a picture of yourself, sir? Maybe it is not a good one, but isn't it a picture of you?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer.

Mr. CLARDY. I ask that he be directed.

Mr. VELDE. Yes. Again you are directed to answer.

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds of the first amendment, freedom of press, and also on the further grounds previously cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. I offer De Caux Exhibit No. 4 for identification into evidence as De Caux Exhibit No. 4.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection it will be received in evidence at this point.

(Magazine entitled "March of Labor," dated February 1952, marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 4" for identification, was received in evidence as De Caux Exhibit No. 4.)<sup>1</sup>

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, isn't it a fact that you were employed by the March of Labor in this publication we are discussing from 1952 until the very recent past, some time in 1954?

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Or shall we say the end of 1953, the very recent past?

Mr. DE CAUX. I must decline to answer.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, you don't have to. Do you decline?

Mr. DE CAUX. I do decline to answer, yes, sir, on the same grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Mr. De Caux, again to keep this record completely clear, have you even been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DE CAUX. I must decline to answer on the grounds that a witness cannot be required to be a witness against himself, and also on the grounds of the first amendment.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, may I suggest that you, although I am not trying to tell you what words to use, stop using the phrase "must decline." We have to keep the record clear. Do you decline?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, were you a member of the Communist Party prior to coming to this country?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you a member of the Young Communist League prior to coming to this country?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you a member of any Communist group prior to coming to this country?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you a member of the Communist Party prior to your naturalization?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you a member of the Young Communist League prior to your naturalization?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you a member of any group seeking to overthrow the Government of the United States of America by force and violence prior to your naturalization?

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Mr. De Caux, in hearings held by this committee back in May of 1953, Dorothy Funn testified before this committee

<sup>1</sup> Retained in committee files.

that when she was in Washington here working for the Communist Party that she knew an editor of the CIO News by the name of Len De Caux, and she testified that he also met with the Communist Party group.

Now, my first question is, did you ever know a Dorothy Funn? For purposes of identification, I will help you by saying that she is a Negro.

MR. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

MR. KUNZIG. Were you a member of the Communist Party group here in Washington, D. C., together with Dorothy Funn?

MR. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

MR. KUNZIG. I am going to read you from a statement, Mr. De Caux, given by Louis Budenz to this committee.

He says, regarding Leonard De Caux:

Former editor of the CIO News, official organ of the national office of the CIO. A studious-looking person with glasses, of medium height and build, originally from either England or Canada.

I have known De Caux personally for 20 years, becoming acquainted with him first in Cleveland when he was editor of one of the railroad unions' publications. He was suggested to Albert F. Coyle, who had been editor of the Locomotive Engineers' Journal, by Robert W. Dunn.

De Caux had the reputation of being a Communist, so far as I was concerned, before my entry into the party. In connection with the campaign to develop the CIO into which the Communists plunged and in which I played a considerable part, I was advised that De Caux was a member of the Communist Party. This advice came from Jack Stachel.

Later on, specifically at the St. Louis convention of the United Automobile Workers in 1940, I met De Caux as a Communist in conference with Roy Hudson, in connection with CIO matters and the United Automobile Workers Union.

I sat in with De Caux, the research man, Fowler, and Roy Hudson and Lee Pressman in struggling over certain parts of Philip Murray's speech that they were to write up and suggest to Murray. This was a Communist caucus on the matter. This was around 1942 or 1943.

Official reports to me from Roy Hudson and Jack Stachel right up to the time I left the party in 1945 were that Leonard De Caux was a member of the Communist Party.

Now, let me ask you, first, did you know Louis Budenz?

MR. DE CAUX. I decline to answer that on the grounds stated.

MR. KUNZIG. Did you know Jack Stachel?

MR. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

MR. KUNZIG. Did you know Roy Hudson?

MR. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

MR. KUNZIG. Did you know Lee Pressman?

MR. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

MR. KUNZIG. Did you, together with Roy Hudson, Lee Pressman, and the research man, Fowler, work on Philip Murray's speech around 1942 or 1943?

MR. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

MR. KUNZIG. Did you attend a Communist caucus with these men on that subject?

MR. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

MR. SCHERER. Was any part of Mr. Budenz' testimony untrue?

MR. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

MR. SCHERER. Was any part of Mrs. Funn's testimony with reference to you untrue?

MR. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

MR. CLARDY. May I inquire at this point?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Witness, while counsel is digging up some other material there, I want to ask you this:

You have raised the point about freedom of the press several times, and I have sat here and listened to Communist witnesses do the same thing many times. Don't you think that the greatest threat to the freedom of the press today is the Communist Party or persons, members of the Communist Party who infiltrate into magazines and into newspapers and who may be even columnists or commentators or what-have-you?

Don't you think that the greatest threat to the freedom of the press lies in that direction and not in the committee asking persons like yourself the kind of questions we have been asking?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer that question on the grounds cited.

Mr. CLARDY. Well, I anticipated that you would, but you are a naturalized American citizen. Can't you find it in your heart to co-operate with your Government and help us expose those that are posing the greatest threat to the American press and freedom of speech and to all of the 10 amendments to the Constitution?

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. CLARDY. Or do you want to continue to refuse to answer, refuse to cooperate with your Government?

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. CLARDY. What do you have to say?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer, sir, on the same grounds.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Clardy, I think this is another one of those cases that should be referred to the Department of Justice to consider possible denaturalization proceedings similar to the one we had in Michigan.

Mr. CLARDY. And which we referred and on which action is now being taken, Mr. Chairman; in fact, it is in the hands of the Government attorney at Detroit at the moment.

Mr. VELDE. I concur with the gentleman and I believe that the matter should be taken up in executive session of this committee as soon as possible.

Mr. CLARDY. I am a little tired of hearing this class of witness appear before us and talk about freedom of the press and freedom of speech. They are the ones, and you are one of them, I think, that are posing that threat.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Mr. De Caux, in February of 1952 where was the headquarters of the March of Labor?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was it at 5 Beekman Street, New York City?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. Isn't it a fact that the editor was John Steuben, who did not appear here this morning, and that you were the managing editor; the associate editor was Walter Barry; the art editor was Charles Keller; is that correct?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know any of those individuals whom I have just mentioned?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, in May of 1952, is it correct that at that point the address was 166 West Washington, Chicago 3, Ill.?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is it correct that at that time the editor was John Steuben, you were managing editor, Walter Barry was associate editor, and the art editor was Sam Perkins?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds stated.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, in June, 1953, the issue shows again 166 West Washington, Chicago 3, Ill.: Steuben, editor; De Caux, managing editor; and Barry, associated editor; is that correct?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. In February 1954, the March of Labor was at 799 Broadway, New York City; the editor, John Steuben; associate editor, Walter Barry. Did you have any connection with the magazine in February 1954?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. Isn't it a fact that you severed connections or were no longer connected with it after December 1953?

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds stated.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you ever know John Steuben as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you know Walter Barry as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Mr. De Caux, according to the certificate of incorporation of this publication, the March of Labor was organized under the laws of the State of New York on May 10, 1949.

Examination of the document shows that Maurice H. Forge, F-o-r-g-e, 46-13 Skillman, S-k-i-l-l-m-a-n, Avenue, Long Island City 4, N. Y., and John F. Ryan, R-y-a-n, 108 Franklin Avenue, Sea Cliff, Long Island, N. Y., and Madeleine H. Ryan, 108 Franklin Avenue, Sea Cliff, Long Island, N. Y., are listed as the directors of this publication.

Did you know any of these people?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is it correct that the purposes of the corporation as listed were: To publish, distribute, and circulate newspapers, magazines, books, pamphlets, and literature, and so forth?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have here a document marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 5" for identification, which is the certificate of incorporation of the March of Labor, Inc., and I offer that document into evidence at this time as De Caux exhibit No. 5. It is a photostatic copy, sir.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be received in evidence at this point.

(Photostatic copy of a document entitled "Certificate of Incorporation of March of Labor, Inc.," marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 5" for identification, was received in evidence as De Caux exhibit No. 5.<sup>1</sup>)

<sup>1</sup> Retained in committee files.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have in my hand a document marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 6" for identification. Mr. Chairman, it is the most recent statement of ownership of the March of Labor.

This document shows as publisher, March of Labor, Inc.; editor, John Steuben; managing editor, Len De Caux. It lists Len De Caux at 5219 South Ingleside Avenue, Chicago 15, Ill.

Mr. De Caux, did you ever live at 5219 Ingleside Avenue, Chicago 15?

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. CLARDY. What is the date?

Mr. KUNZIG. It is dated, sir, the 1st of October, 1953.

The question is, did you ever live at the address given?

Mr. DE CAUX. I stated already that I lived at that address.

Mr. VELDE. I am sorry; I didn't hear you..

Mr. DE CAUX. I stated I lived at that address.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, let me ask you, were you managing editor, as shown on this certificate dated October 1, 1953, of the March of Labor, Inc.?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. CLARDY. Exhibit the document to him, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. I hand you the document marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 6" for identification and ask you again if you are the Leonard De Caux therein mentioned.

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer.

Mr. CLARDY. I ask that he be directed to answer that one. It has to do with his signature on a public document.

Mr. VELDE. You are directed to answer the question.

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. This document lists, Mr. Chairman, the March of Labor, Inc., and the owners, Vincent Hallinan, H-a-l-l-i-n-a-n, of San Francisco, Calif., and Lee Steuben, who, investigation has shown, was the wife of the Mr. Steuben who did not appear here this morning.

I offer into evidence now this document as De Caux exhibit No. 6, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be received into evidence at this point.

(Document showing Statement of Ownership, Management, and Circulation of March of Labor, marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 6" for identification, was received in evidence as De Caux exhibit No. 6.)<sup>1</sup>

Mr. CLARDY. Counsel, that is a document under oath, is it not?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, sir. "sworn and subscribed before me the 1st day of October 1953." It looks like it is Pearl Hart. "My commission expires November 1956." It is sealed.

Mr. CLARDY. And the signatures are what persons?

Mr. KUNZIG. The signature is John Steuben, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. And the notary?

Mr. KUNZIG. It looks like Hart, H-a-r-t.

Mr. CLARDY. The import of it being that the witness before us was in what position with the publication?

Mr. KUNZIG. Managing editor, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. As of that date in '53?

<sup>1</sup> Retained in committee files.

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. And that is an application for the next ensuing year after the date?

Mr. KUNZIG. Well, it is marked "Statement required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946, and so forth, showing the ownership, management, and circulation of the March of Labor."

Mr. CLARDY. Yes. Thank you.

Did you ask him, counsel, whether he recognizes the signature of the person who signed it?

Mr. KUNZIG. I shall hand him the document marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 6" for identification and ask him that question, Mr. Clardy.

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. CLARDY. You what?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. CLARDY. I ask that he be directed.

Mr. VELDE. Yes; you are directed to answer that question.

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. It is my understanding, Mr. Chairman, for the record, that this document which we are discussing here, exhibit 6, is filed in order to obtain second class mailing privileges, which should be a matter of interest, I should think, to the Postmaster General of the United States of America.

Mr. WALTER. May I see it, please.

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. I think, Mr. Chairman, this record should show at this time that that is one of the matters involved before the Congress, that is, the withdrawal of the second class mailing privileges of Communist publications and publications of that general nature. In fact, I have a bill in of that kind, and I am sure quite a number of others have, also.

I say that in case the witness attempts to say that is beyond the scope of the inquiry of this committee.

Mr. VELDE. Do you have any connections at all with the March of Labor at the present time?

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the same grounds cited.

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. De Caux, according to a letter dated May 7, 1951, addressed to the Postmaster of the New York General Post Office, New York, N. Y., and over the signature of John Steuben as editor and manager of the March of Labor at that time, Mr. Steuben says this publication has published only three issues in 1949.

Does it lie within your knowledge how many issues were published in 1949?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were they in June, July, and September of that year?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is it correct the publication was suspended and then resumed in August 1950, with John Steuben as editor?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, the letter actually filed with the Postmaster is marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 7" for identification. I have already

gone into it, Mr. Chairman, and I offer exhibit 7 into evidence at this time.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be received in evidence at this point.

(Letter dated May 7, 1953, addressed to Postmaster of New York General Post Office, signed by John Steuben, marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 7" for identification, was received in evidence as De Caux exhibit No. 7)<sup>1</sup>

Mr. KUNZIG. This was the original application to obtain second class mailing privileges.

This letter we are talking about over the signature of John Steuben, addressed to the Postmaster, as I said, was filed to obtain second class mailing privileges as set forth by law.

There were various facts set forth, and I am going to ask you concerning your knowledge of the facts.

It was listed as a monthly publication. Is that correct?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds already stated.

Mr. KUNZIG. The stockholders listed were Maurice Forge, John Ryan, and Madeleine H. Ryan. Is that correct?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds stated.

Mr. KUNZIG. Let's turn to the subscription. It listed the total subscription as approximately 13,558, which was divided as follows:

Copies purchased in bulk, approximately 8,000; copies consigned to news agencies, approximately 1,500; and subscriptions, approximately 2,000. Is that correct?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds of the first amendment, as well as on the further grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is it correct that the copies were distributed through the following book stores:

Victory Book Shop, Ltd., room 3, 4662 Park Avenue, Montreal, Canada;

Labor Publications, Post Office Box 2691, Denver, Colo.;

Wholesale Book Corp., 48 East 13th Street, New York, N. Y., and they got 1,000 copies;

(Representative Francis E. Walter left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Progressive Book Shop, 1806 West 7th Street, Los Angeles, Calif.;

Modern Book Store, 180 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill.

Is it correct that that is a group of stores through which these copies were distributed?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Counsel, how much further questioning do you have? (Discussion off the record.)

Mr. VELDE. I am afraid we have to take a recess at this point because we have a call of the House, so the committee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock this afternoon.

(Whereupon, at 12:15 p. m., a recess was taken to 2 p. m. the same day.)

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<sup>1</sup> Retained in committee files.

## AFTERNOON SESSION

(At the hour of 2:04 p. m. of the same day, the proceedings were resumed, Representatives Kit Clardy and Gordon L. Scherer being present.)

Mr. CLARDY. The committee will be in session.

Let the record show that Chairman Velde has appointed a subcommittee consisting of Representatives Scherer, Walter, and myself as chairman to conclude this hearing this afternoon. The record will show that Congressman Scherer and myself are present and Congressman Walter is expected in a moment.

Please proceed, Mr. Counsel.

## TESTIMONY OF LEONARD (LEN) H. DE CAUX—Resumed

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. De Caux, who was responsible for the selection of articles which appeared from time to time in a publication known as March of Labor?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer that under the constitutional privilege of the first amendment affecting freedom of the press, and on the further grounds that I have the constitutional right not to testify against myself.

Mr. KUNZIG. This is a continuation of this morning's hearing, although this is a different subcommittee and it will be understood that this is part of the same testimony, and if you say "The same grounds," we will understand that it applies to the testimony also that you gave this morning.

Mr. DE CAUX. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you responsible for the selection of articles appearing in the March of Labor?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. KUNZIG. You were managing editor, were you not?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have here a list of various articles, the names of various authors, and I wish to ask you brief questions about them, Mr. De Caux. There is a rather amazing and startling list of known Communist writers who appear at various times, some of them again and again in the pages of the March of Labor.

Here is an article by Hugh Bryson who was indicted for falsifying the Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit. Did you have anything to do with Hugh Bryson's article in the March of Labor?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer that on the grounds cited.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you have the date of that article?

Mr. KUNZIG. This was March 1952.

Mr. CLARDY. At which time the record shows the witness was connected with the March of Labor.

Mr. KUNZIG. We have the articles here. I won't go into all the various articles now, but the names I am going to mention are all identified members of the Communist Party, identified before this committee and I can give the date of the publication of the articles as they appeared in the March of Labor from time to time.

Mr. CLARDY. Very well. Possibly when we get through, we will ask some general questions about them.

Mr. KUNZIG. Milt Burns, identified before this committee in 1952, published an article on page 18 of the February issue of 1953. Do you know Milt Burns?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer that on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you have anything to do with his article appearing in the March of Labor?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. KUNZIG. I will go through the list and ask you the question as to whether you knew these people or had anything to do with the publication of their articles.

The next is Harry Bridges, identified in 1949, 1951, 1952, 1953, as a member of the Communist Party. His article was in the March 1954 issue.

Ernest DeMaio, identified in 1950. His articles appeared in October 1950, May of 1951, January 1953, March 1953 and February 1954.

Robert W. Dunn, identified as a Communist in 1953. The date of publication of his articles was August 1950, September 1950, October 1950, November 1950, December 1950, and January 1951.

James Durkin, identified as a member of the party in 1952. His article appeared in August of 1950.

Howard Fast, identified in 1952 and in 1953. His article appeared in August of 1951.

Abe Feinglass, identified in 1952. His article appeared in April of 1951. Abe Feinglass appeared before this committee in April of 1954 as an uncooperative witness.

Maurice H. Forge, identified in 1949. His articles appeared in June of 1949, July of 1949, September 1949, and August of 1950.

Mr. SCHIERER. I am wondering does anybody but a Communist write for this magazine?

Mr. KUNZIG. I think there must have been something else in it. I will have to check.

Now to go on with the names of authors.

Ben Gold, identified in 1952, and was indicted for falsifying the Taft-Hartley oath. I think it is interesting to show that after his indictment that he was reelected to his position in his union showing the necessity, Mr. Chairman, for very definite legislation in this field. His article appeared in February of 1951.

Louis Goldblatt, identified in 1953. His article appeared in July of 1949.

Donald Henderson, identified in 1953. His article appeared in June of 1949.

Preston Hill, identified in 1953. His article appeared in October and November of 1953.

Alfred Hirsch, identified in 1953. His article appeared in September 1951.

Clinton E. Jencks, identified in 1952 and then he was later convicted for falsifying the Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit. His article appeared in August of 1951.

David Jenkins, identified in 1953. The date of publication of his article was March of 1954.

Joe Kress, identified in 1950. His article appeared in December of 1950 and January of 1951.

Meridel LeSueur, identified in 1953. His article appeared in October and November of 1953.

Ed Lock. He was identified in 1952. The date of publication of his articles was August 1950, February 1951 and April of 1951.

Herb March appeared as an uncooperative witness in 1951. He was identified then and also in 1952. The date of publication of his articles was February 1952, February 1953, and October and November of 1953.

Carl Marzani, sentenced in 1947 to serve 1 to 3 years for concealing Communist affiliations while in the Federal Government. His article appeared in March of 1952.

Wyndham Mortimer, identified in 1949. His articles appeared in April 1951, May 1951, June 1951, July 1951, August 1951, September 1951, and April 1952.

Mr. CLARDY. Witness, do you know Mr. Mortimer?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. SCHERER. I request that he be directed to answer the question.

Mr. CLARDY. I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline on the grounds cited.

Mr. CLARDY. As a matter of fact he was up in the CIO in Detroit, was he not?

(At this point, Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Counsel, the writers for this magazine wrote articles from what period to what period of time?

Mr. KUNZIG. It was really from its inception to the present time, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. What was the earliest date?

Mr. KUNZIG. June 1949.

Mr. SCHERER. Until last year?

Mr. KUNZIG. Until this year, June of 1954.

Mr. SCHERER. In all of that time, with the exception of perhaps the last few months, this witness was the associate editor of that magazine, is that right?

Mr. KUNZIG. He started in February of 1952, not right at the beginning, but February of 1952, until the end of 1953, according to our investigation. Of course, he refused to answer those questions.

Mr. SCHERER. He refused to answer where he was employed in 1948 or 1949?

Mr. KUNZIG. Right up through the present, but he did give his present employment.

Mr. CLARDY. To go back to the question I asked you about Mr. Mortimer, are you ready to answer?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. CLARDY. I direct you to answer the question because it has to do with whether or not Mr. Mortimer is connected with the CIO.

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer, sir, on the grounds cited.

Mr. CLARDY. You are declining to answer again, as I understand it?

Mr. DE CAUX. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. The next name is Jack Montgomery, identified in 1953. His article was in February 1954.

Russell Nixon, identified in 1950, 1952, and 1953 as a member of the Communist Party and appeared as an uncooperative witness in 1953. His articles were in June of 1949, August 1950, February 1951, July 1951, November 1951, February 1952, March 1952, May 1952,

September 1952, January 1953, March 1953, May 1953, June 1953, October and November 1953, February of 1954, and March of 1954.

Mr. CLARDY. If he was getting paid for all that he did right well. He seemed to have made all the issues.

Mr. KUNZIG. The next name is William E. Oliver, identified in 1952 as a member of the Communist Party. His article appeared in September of 1953.

Sam Parks, identified in 1952 and appeared as an uncooperative witness in 1952. His article appeared in August of 1950.

Victor Perlo, identified as the member of an espionage ring by Elizabeth Bentley, and his dates of publication in the March of Labor are June of 1949, July 1949, September 1949, June 1951, March 1952, and May of 1953.

Mr. CLARDY. He was tied in with the Silvermaster cell, wasn't he?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. Proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. Marcel Scherer, identified in 1949 and 1952. The dates of his publication are October 1950 and April 1951.

Mr. CLARDY. Not to be confused with the member of this committee.

Mr. KUNZIG. I do not think so.

Mr. SCHERER. Hardly.

Mr. KUNZIG. The next name is William Sentner, identified in 1952, convicted and sentenced under the Smith Act. The date of his article appeared in November in 1950.

Verne Slagle or LaVerne Slagle, identified in 1950. His article appeared in November 1951.

Maurice E. Travis, identified in 1949, defied a NLRB subpoena in connection with the Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit. The date of the publication of his articles was September 1951 and November 1950.

Charles Velson, identified in 1953 and appeared, as I recall, a most uncooperative witness in 1953. The date of publication of his article was August 1951.

Mr. SCHERER. His alias was Charles Wilson and when the revolution was to take place he was to become Secretary of Defense.

Mr. KUNZIG. The next name is Coleman Young, identified in 1952. The date of publication of his article was March of 1954.

Now, Mr. De Caux, all of those names that I have mentioned starting with Hugh Bryson and going through to Mr. Coleman Young, did you know any of those people personally?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you have anything to do with the articles that they wrote in the March of Labor?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. Isn't it a fact that you asked these people to write these articles for the March of Labor?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds stated.

Mr. CLARDY. Didn't you, as a matter of fact, know each of them intimately and knew them to be Communists?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer that, sir, on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. Turning to an author listed as Len de Caux, identified before this committee and now appearing before this committee at this moment, I want to show the articles that you have written for

the March of Labor that appeared in August 1951, October 1951, March 1952, April 1952, May 1952, June 1952, July 1952, August 1952, September 1952, October and November 1952, December 1952—

Mr. SCHERER. Witness, did anybody write for this publication who was not a Communist? Did you ever have non-Communist writers for this publication?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. To continue with the dates of the publication of your articles; January 1953, February 1953, March 1953, June 1953, October and November of 1953. Did you write articles in the March of Labor on all those dates as listed by me and also the dates I mentioned a moment ago?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Mr. Chairman, since it is obvious that this witness is not going to answer questions about the March of Labor, the publication and who wrote for it, and what type of people wrote for it, I would like to turn to a little about the background of this witness, Mr. Len De Caux, personally.

I think it is unnecessary, Mr. Chairman, to put into the record all of the various volumes of the March of Labor. They, of course, are very thick publications. The committee has a full list of each and every one of them which are available, and with your permission, I think it is unnecessary to actually put them in this specific record.

Mr. CLARDY. I would suggest that we have the staff select the titles and a descriptive sentence or two or maybe a paragraph out of each of the articles that will illustrate and explain the nature of those articles. I think it will be helpful to do that.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I recommend then, that this explanatory material go in as De Caux exhibit No. 8 at this time to be prepared and identified from the various issues of the March of Labor and put into the record at this point.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be so received.

(Material from March of Labor of various authors for various dates to be supplied by staff and marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 8," and received in evidence.<sup>1</sup>)

Mr. KUNZIG. There was testimony, Mr. De Caux, before this committee about Walter S. Steele. Mr. Steele appeared before this committee in 1947 and testified about the National Committee to Win the Peace. The National Committee to Win the Peace has been cited as subversive and un-American by Attorney General Tom Clark in 1947 and 1948 and by the California Committee on un-American Activities in 1948.

In his testimony, Mr. Walter S. Steele lists as speakers appearing before this National Committee to Win the Peace, Len De Caux, of the CIO News. Did you ever speak before this group in connection with the subject of peace with such people as Russell Nixon, former Congressman Hugh DeLacy, identified as a former member of the Communist Party in Seattle, Wash. Did you speak before this group?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. SCHERER. Is there anything untrue about the testimony that has just been read to you?

<sup>1</sup> Due to the extensive research required to satisfy the order of the Chair in this regard and the quantity of material to be included, a report on this subject will be issued by the committee.

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. In further testimony given at the same time in the testimony of Mr. Walter S. Steele, the subject matter of delegates to the Paris Conference of the World Federation of Trade Unions came up. He lists the delegates and among those various delegates different names, and then goes into advisers and lists Len De Caux.

Did you appear at this Paris conference?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you make any passport application for travel abroad with reference to this conference or immediately prior thereto?

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. CLARDY. I direct you to answer that last question.

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. SCHERER. Since you came to this country from New Zealand in 1921, I believe you said, is that the year you came, Witness?

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. SCHERER. When did you come to this country from New Zealand?

Mr. DE CAUX. I testified that I came in 1921.

Mr. SCHERER. I thought that was the year.

Mr. DE CAUX. It was not from New Zealand. I came from England.

Mr. CLARDY. You originally were from New Zealand and went to England and that is the year; is that right?

Mr. DE CAUX. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you been out of the country since that arrival?

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer that on the grounds cited.

Mr. CLARDY. I direct that you answer the question.

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. SCHERER. Have you ever been in Russia since 1921?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have in front of me a document marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 9" for identification. It is a page from the August issue of *Fight*, the publication, *Fight*, which was published monthly by the American League Against War and Fascism. The publication, *Fight*, has been cited as the official organ of the American League Against War and Fascism which has been cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities, the California committee, the Massachusetts committee, and so forth.

In this issue of *Fight* of the year 1934, there is an article by Len De Caux, who is listed as the Washington correspondent of the Federated Press. We have already discussed the Federated Press this morning, and that is in the record.

Did you write an article entitled, "Labor," the first paragraph of which starts out: "Are the railroad brotherhoods opposed to war?" and so forth.

Did you write that article at that time?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I offer this as exhibit No. 9 for identification and offer it into evidence.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be received as exhibit No. 9.

(August 1934 issue of *Fight* marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 9" for identification, was received in evidence.)<sup>1</sup>

Mr. KUNZIG. I have in front of me a document marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 10" for identification which is headed "Summary of the proceedings of the win the peace conference," held at the Department of Commerce auditorium in Washington, D. C., on April 5, 6, and 7, 1946, and published by the National Committee to Win the Peace, 1309 14th Street, Washington, D. C., which was cited as subversive and Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark in 1947 and again in 1948, and by the California committee in 1948.

In this list there appears in the Saturday evening session, along with other people who were speakers, Len De Caux, named as the editor of the CIO News, who spoke on "The Philippines."

Did you appear in this program and speak as has been listed in this document marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 10" for identification?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. CLARDY. I direct you to answer that question.

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. CLARDY. Were you ever in the Philippines?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. I offer this document into evidence, Mr. Chairman, as exhibit No. 10.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be received.

(Summary of proceedings of Win the Peace Conference, April 5, 6, 7, 1946, Washington, D. C., was marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 10" for identification and was received in evidence.)<sup>1</sup>

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a document marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 11" for identification. This document, Mr. Chairman, is an open letter to President Truman, and the heading of the pamphlet is "What Price Philippine Independence." It is signed by Maud Russell as executive director. It was released by the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy on October 7, 1946. The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy is cited as Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark in 1949 and the California committee in 1948.

This letter talks about the terrible situation in the Philippines, that tragedy stalks the homes of the loyal Philippine people, and so forth and so on, and obviously is an article which goes into the question of the fighting problem after the war in the Philippines and the problem with respect to the Huks, and so forth.

Did you sign, as is listed here, for the Executive Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy? The name of Len De Caux is listed here. Did you permit your name to be used in this open letter to President Truman?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. CLARDY. I direct you to answer that question.

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I offer this document into evidence as De Caux exhibit No. 11.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be received in evidence.

(Document entitled "What Price Philippine Independence" released by the Committee for a Far Eastern Policy, marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 11" for identification was received in evidence.)<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Retained in committee files.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a document in front of me marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 12" for identification which is entitled "Twenty-one Years of IPR," the Institute of Pacific Relations. And listed among the board of trustees of the Institute of Pacific Relations, among other names is Len De Caux. This is 1946.

The Institute of Pacific Relations, as is now well known, or as the other name, the American Council Institute of Pacific Relations, and has been cited as a Communist front by the California committee in 1948. I think the activities of the IPR have been rather well publicized and rather well known in these last years.

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you give your name to the board of trustees to be listed as a member of the board of trustees of the IPR?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer that on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you ever a member of the board of trustees of the IPR?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. CLARDY. I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. The chairman of the research advisory committee is Owen Lattimore. Do you know Owen Lattimore?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. CLARDY. I direct you to answer that question.

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was your activity in connection with Owen Lattimore in the Institute of Pacific Relations?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer that question on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you a member of the Institute of Pacific Relations at the same time you were a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer that on the grounds cited.

Mr. SCHERER. You mean it would incriminate you to tell us whether you knew Owen Lattimore?

Mr. DE CAUX. I repeat that I am employing the constitutional right not to have to be a witness against myself.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I offer this photostatic copy of this document into evidence as De Caux exhibit No. 12.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be received.

(Document entitled "Twenty-one Years of IPR," marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 12" for identification, was received in evidence.)<sup>1</sup>

Mr. CLARDY. I want the record to take note of the fact that in reference to De Caux exhibit No. 11, that in addition to the witness before us whose name was affixed to the open letter to President Truman, we find among others, the name of Lee Pressman, and of Gene Weltfish. We find the name of Muriel Draper and a considerable number of others. Those I have named are already known to the committee and have their names in the records and files of this committee and in the transcript of open testimony. I am not sure as to whether the rest of them have or not, but I want to ask this witness another question on De Caux exhibit No. 11.

Was it not the purpose of this letter, the open letter to President Truman, now identified and received in evidence as De Caux exhibit

<sup>1</sup> Retained in committee files.

No. 11, to represent to the American public the communistic idea that the people in the Philippines fighting the organized government there were the ones who should really be recognized, and to whom the government should be given?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you deny that you had any connection with the preparation and presentation and the publication of this letter?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you ever hear of the outfit called the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. CLARDY. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a document in front of me marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 13" for identification which is a photostatic copy of page 2 of the Daily People's World of Friday, October 5, 1951. There is an article entitled "Free Press Group To Meet October 11," datelined October 4, and it says: "The 'Slim' Connelly defense committee's free-press section called a meeting at 8:15 p. m., Thursday, October 11, 250 North Hope Street, in the office of Robert Kenny, ex-newspaperman and former California Attorney General.

"Characterizing the Smith Act, under which Connelly was jailed, as 'repugnant' and 'dangerous,' Len De Caux, chairman of the free-press section, invited all persons interested 'in defending the right to publish news and opinions' to be present."

Did you at that time, Mr. De Caux, denounce and characterize the Smith Act as repugnant and did you see this report in the Daily People's World?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. I offer this article into evidence, Mr. Chairman, as De Caux exhibit No. 13.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be received.

(Friday, October 5, 1951, issue Daily People's World, page 2, marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 13" for identification, was received in evidence.)<sup>1</sup>

Mr. KUNZIG. From page 2 of the Daily Worker of New York, Monday, May 19, 1953, of which I have a photostatic copy in my hand marked as "De Caux Exhibit No. 14" for identification, there is an article with a large headline entitled, "Len De Caux, March of Labor editor, to Keynote Peace Parley," and then it says that Len De Caux will be the keynote speaker at the Labor Conference for Peace to be held here in Chicago, Sunday, May 25. This is, of course, 1952. It was to be held in the Packinghouse Labor Center, 4859 South Wabash Avenue.

Are you the Len De Caux there listed and did you so speak?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I offer this document into evidence as exhibit No. 14.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be received.

(P. 2, Daily Worker, New York, Monday, May 19, 1952, marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 14" for identification was received in evidence.)<sup>1</sup>

Mr. KUNZIG. One or two more documents here, Mr. Chairman. Here is a photostatic copy of page 3 of the Daily Worker of New York of Monday, March 30, 1953. There is a big headline on this document

<sup>1</sup> Retained in committee files.

marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 15" for identification which says: "Two Thousand at Teachers' Rally Greets New Spirit of Resistance to McCarthyism," and then it goes on to talk about the Teachers' Union of New York, held its annual educational conference in the Hotel Commodore.

It listed the fact that Len De Caux was one of the speakers.

Then Dr. Barrows Dunham, who is one of the nine people cited officially in the 83d Congress for contempt of this Congress was another one of the speakers. Dr. Barrows Dunham's statement is as follows, and you will recall that he was thrown out of Temple University after he refused to testify before this committee. This was after he was thrown out of Temple and after he refused to testify here:

In the last 4 weeks—

he said,

I have come to know happiness deeper and nobler than I thought possible, a happiness which springs from the knowledge that old fears can be conquered and that you are living on in the midst of an overflowing joy and confidence from your friends.

So said Dr. Barrows Dunham.

Also speaking was Len De Caux of Chicago, editor of March of Labor. Did you speak at this teachers' rally in 1953 as listed in the March 1953 issue of the Daily Worker in New York?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. The committee will recall that a great deal of testimony was given about the subversive activities of this union by Bella Dodd.

May I offer De Caux exhibit No. 15 into evidence, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. CLARDY. It will be received.

(Daily Worker, Monday, March 30, 1953, page 3, marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 15" for identification was received in evidence.)<sup>1</sup>

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a document marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 16" for identification which is a photograph taken in June 1953 of pickets in front of the Federal Building in Chicago, Ill., protesting the Rosenberg case. Appearing with the No. 3 across his lapel is Len De Caux. I hand you this document marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 16" for identification and ask you if you are the person marked with a No. 3 there on that picture, De Caux exhibit No. 16 for identification.

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you picket for the Rosenbergs at any time?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. KUNZIG. I offer this De Caux exhibit No. 16 into evidence. It is perfectly obvious that is a picture of this witness appearing before this committee right at this moment who was photographed with Lillian Frost and a Doris Fine, picketing on June 19, 1953 in front of the Federal Building protesting the Rosenberg case action.

Mr. CLARDY. It will be received.

(Photograph, June 19, 1953, pickets, Federal Building, Chicago, Ill., in re Rosenberg case, marked "De Caux Exhibit No. 16" for identification was received in evidence.)<sup>1</sup>

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions of this witness.

<sup>1</sup> Retained in committee files.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Scherer, do you have any questions?

Mr. SCHERER. Except this morning, I said this was a case where the witness should be referred to the Department of Justice, keeping in mind possible denaturalization action. Since listening to the additional testimony this afternoon, I feel that recommendation should be a very strong one of this committee.

Mr. CLARDY. Will you hand me up the naturalization papers, please?

Witness, this morning you had exhibited to you the documents I have in my hand, both of which are photostatic copies of the petition for naturalization and the certificate of naturalization filed by you, and your attention was called to the name of the two people who had executed the affidavits in support of your application and you were a trifle, or more than a trifle, vague about some of the answers that you gave. I want to redirect your attention to it right now.

The two persons whose affidavits were executed on the 9th day of November 1927 allege, as they necessarily must, that they had known you for a period a little in excess of 1 year, or perhaps I should phrase it this way; that they had personally known you immediately preceding the date filing this application and known you well. Now, I want to again ask you if you do not now recall specifically that you did know Mrs. Andrew Meyer and Mr. Fred Jerger who executed the affidavits in support of your petition for naturalization.

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. DE CAUX. That was 27 years ago, Mr. Congressman. I recall the names and I presume I knew them.

Mr. CLARDY. This business of becoming a citizen of the United States is something that only happens once in a lifetime to an individual. Do you mean to sit there and tell this committee in all seriousness that you do not recollect who it was that actually executed the affidavits in support of your effort to become a citizen?

Mr. DE CAUX. Frankly, it was 27 years ago, and I had forgotten who the people were. I see their names appearing there. It is possible they were, I recall the names.

Mr. CLARDY. You realize, of course, that in order for you to become a citizen, it was necessary for them in effect to take this oath asserting that they knew you well. You still want this committee to think that you honestly do not remember the people who did such a great favor for you?

Mr. DE CAUX. I wouldn't say I did not remember them.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you remember them?

Mr. DE CAUX. Yes, I said the names are familiar. I do recall the people, but it was a long time ago. I do not recall specifically that they were the people who bore witness for my naturalization. As I say, I had forgotten who the people were. I have not seen them for a long time.

Mr. CLARDY. You do recall then the individuals, but you are saying you do not recall whether they signed the affidavit in support of this petition?

Mr. DE CAUX. I recall the names.

Mr. CLARDY. You wouldn't challenge the authenticity of this copy of the document?

Mr. DE CAUX. I would neither confirm nor deny it, nor challenge it. It appears plausible, but it was a long time ago.

Mr. CLARDY. At the time that you executed this document, were you a member of any branch or subdivision of the Communist Party?

(At this point Mr. De Caux conferred with Mr. Friedman.)

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer under both the first amendment in regard to freedom of opinion and on account of the constitutional right that no person has to testify against himself.

Mr. CLARDY. I do not mind telling you that you are, in my humble opinion, invoking it improperly and you are not entitled to the protection of either of those amendments, but we will pass on to something else.

Between the time that this petition was filed and the date when your certificate of naturalization was issued, the date being the 13th day of April, did you belong to any Communist group or organization of any kind?

Mr. DE CAUX. I decline to answer on the grounds cited.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you have any further questions, Mr. Scherer?

Mr. SCHERER. I have no further questions.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you have any further questions, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. KUNZIG. No, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CLARDY. Very well, the witness is dismissed.

The hearing will be adjourned.

(Whereupon at 2:46 p. m., the hearing was adjourned.)

# INVESTIGATION OF COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN THE FIELD OF PUBLICATIONS

(March of Labor)

THURSDAY, JULY 15, 1954

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

## PUBLIC HEARING

The Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10:40 a. m., in the caucus room, 362 Old House Office Building, Hon. Harold H. Velde (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Harold H. Velde, Donald L. Jackson, Kit Clardy, Gordon H. Scherer, and Francis E. Walter.

Staff members present: Robert L. Kunzig, counsel; Frank S. Tavener, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., chief clerk; and George C. Williams, investigator.

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order.

Let the record show that Mr. Jackson, Mr. Clardy, Mr. Scherer, Mr. Walter, and I are present, constituting a quorum of the whole committee.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, as you will recall, there is a subpoena outstanding for one John Steuben, of New York. Mr. Steuben was to appear before this committee last Thursday, July 8, 1954. He failed to appear, having communicated with committee counsel, giving ill health as his reason.

You will further recall that that time I made a statement for the record that a doctor's report by Steuben's personal doctor showed him to be in ill health, whereas a doctor's report submitted by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare stated that he would be able to testify before the committee.

Due to the conflict in medical statements and the desire of the committee to be fair to all witnesses, the subpoena was continued until this morning, and you directed, Mr. Chairman, that a further physical examination be given John Steuben by Government doctors, including a heart specialist.

This examination has taken place during the past week. I have in my possession here a report submitted by Dr. Henry I. Russek, consultant in cardiovascular disease, stating that with certain minor limitations, Steuben is capable of giving testimony and of being cross-examined without risk to his health and life.

The committee, of course, Mr. Chairman, agreed immediately to observe these limitations.

I herewith offer the medical report of Dr. Russek, dated July 13, 1954, into evidence at this time.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be admitted at this point.

(Medical report of Dr. Henry I. Russek re John Steuben, dated July 13, 1954, marked "Steuben Exhibit No. 4" for identification, was received in evidence as Steuben exhibit No. 4.)<sup>1</sup>

Mr. KUNZIG. Immediately upon the receipt of this report I contacted Mr. Robert Lewis, counsel for John Steuben, by telephone, and told him that the committee would expect his client to appear this morning in Washington, D. C.

Mr. Lewis stated that, having been informed of the opinion of Dr. Russek, another medical examination was made of John Steuben by another doctor engaged by Steuben personally. He notified me that this doctor's report showed that if Steuben should come to Washington and testify it would endanger his health and that, therefore, Steuben would not come. He proposed over the telephone that Steuben might testify in New York City if an appearance before the committee in New York could be arranged. I promised to bring this to the attention of the chairman at once and call him back. This I did.

Upon your instructions, Mr. Chairman, I telephoned Mr. Lewis late yesterday afternoon and notified his office that it would be unnecessary for his client to appear here this morning.

I further notified his office that a subcommittee would come to New York on August 2, 1954, and that the subpena of John Steuben was continued until that date in New York City, at a time and place to be determined as soon as possible.

I should further like to introduce into the record a telegram sent to Mr. Lewis and to Mr. Steuben yesterday afternoon, substantially to the same effect, as exhibits 5 and 6, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, they will be admitted in the record at this point.

(Copy of telegram dated July 14, 1954, to Robert Z. Lewis from Harold H. Velde, chairman, marked "Steuben Exhibit No. 5" for identification, was received in evidence as Steuben exhibit No. 5; and copy of a telegram dated July 14, 1954, to John Steuben from Harold H. Velde, chairman, marked "Steuben Exhibit No. 6" for identification was received in evidence as Steuben exhibit No. 6.)<sup>1</sup>

Mr. KUNZIG. In addition, I herewith offer into evidence a telegram received about an hour ago from Robert Lewis, which I should like to read, Mr. Chairman:

Physical examination of John Steuben under auspices Public Health Service Hospital, Staten Island, New York, indicates danger to life of witness if required to testify tomorrow before committee. Limitations suggested cannot be guaranteed by committee. Steuben further examined by heart specialist Arthur C. Degrass, 850 Park Avenue, New York City, who advises that if subjected to emotional strain Steuben runs danger of cerebral hemorrhage and that he is unable to travel to Washington and that it would be unwise and dangerous for Steuben to be subjected to the strain of giving testimony or being cross-examined at this time. In view of foregoing, Steuben will be unable to appear before committee tomorrow, July 25, 1954. Letter follows.

ROBERT Z. LEWIS,  
Attorney for John Steuben.

<sup>1</sup> Retained in committee files.

I might add that we have corroborated with the United States Health Service, Mr. Chairman, that this other examination was given and that it was a proper and correct examination.

Mr. Steuben is not here today, Mr. Chairman, pursuant to your order, and arrangements will be worked out immediately to establish the time and place in New York City for the hearing August 2, 1954.

Mr. Chairman, with your permission, I feel we should include in the record at this point some of the more pertinent information relating to Mr. John Steuben's long and continued association with the Communist Party as reflected by the files of the committee.

This is a very brief statement.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed, but first of all, let me say that the matter came up late yesterday afternoon. I did not have an opportunity to consult with members of the committee regarding this continuance. I hope that my actions are approved.

While I realize that this witness should testify, I hope that my actions in granting the continuance were agreeable with the members of the committee.

Mr. WALTER. I have become so accustomed to such things I am used to it.

Mr. VELDE. That is not my fault, Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. I know.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Steuben was born Isaack Rijock in Vrailov, Russia, on October 31, 1906. He entered this country through the port of New York on July 1, 1923, with his father, Zalik Rijock, his mother, 3 sisters, and 1 brother.

As early as 1930, Mr. Steuben was publicly associated with the Young Communist League, being the author of many articles appearing in the Daily Worker, then listed as a central organ of the Communist Party, relating to the struggle and hardship of this young group.

As early as 1936, Mr. Steuben was publicly listed as Youngstown section organizer of the Communist Party for the United States. The Daily Worker of January 11, 1936, carries an article over his byline entitled "Five Corners for Section Organizers on Building the Communist Party."

Mr. Chairman, I think I should point out that this was some 7 years prior to his naturalization in the District Courts of Smith County, Tex., on November 27, 1943.

As early as 1939, he was publicly identified in testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities as having been a member of the Communist Party and one of the leading officers of the Trade Union Unity League.

In connection with his activity with the Trade Union Unity League, the files of the committee reflect that as early as 1932 subject was the author of several articles in Labor Unity, the official publication of this organization. The articles decrying the lack of revolutionary work among organized trade unions in America were entitled in the main, "Problems of the Revolutionary Unions in the Largest City in the United States of America."

An examination of the public testimony before the committee reveals that over a period of years some seven witnesses have identified Mr. Steuben as a member of the Communist Party.

One of these, James H. Dolsen, a charter member of the Communist Party who was recently indicted and convicted under the laws of the State of Pennsylvania for advocating the violent overthrow of the Government—I might add, Mr. Chairman, as you know, this was set aside on technical legal grounds not relevant in this instant matter—testified in public session on March 25, 1940, admitting not only his membership in the Communist Party but identifying John Steuben as having been known to him to be a member of the Communist Party.

The files of the committee reflect the continuous leadership role played by Mr. Steuben in connection with the Communist Party up to and including his assumption of editorship of the March of Labor in August 1950.

And of course, Mr. Chairman, it is about his activity principally with the March of Labor that the committee is desirous of questioning him, and which will be taken up, of course, in detail on August 2, 1954.

Mr. VELDE. Now, Mr. Counsel, from your preliminary investigation of this matter concerning John Steuben, do you think it would be possible, if we bent over backward to be fair in this case and were able to go to New York to oblige him with the hearing, that he would testify and give us any information regarding Communist Party activities and the March of Labor?

Mr. KUNZIG. I, of course, have no knowledge, Mr. Chairman, as to what his testimony would be. I have no guaranty as to whether he would answer questions or resort to the fifth amendment, and I realize that we are bending over backward in fairness to the witness in our desire not to cause any ill health in any way to the witness. We, of course, cannot be sure what he will say in New York.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. It would seem to me that it might be the better part of discretion to have counsel make some inquiry on that very subject of counsel for the witness. It will cost the committee money out of its funds that it can ill spare to go up there.

Now, I am not going to quarrel with the chairman's decision to postpone it. It irks me a great deal because it is just one of the tactics I think we have had used upon us before, but—

Mr. VELDE. The gentleman is absolutely right.

Mr. CLARDY. It is useless to go up there if he is not going to talk, and I think we ought to supplement the record—since we have given him two opportunities to be here—supplement the record by testimony of the staff here at the proper time here in Washington and have a more complete recitation of the background of this man's Communist activities.

Mr. WALTER. Have we other witnesses?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes.

Mr. WALTER. Why not go on with the hearing, and have this matter recessed?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. Yes, certainly.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, just to complete this record, I wish to offer in evidence the telegram received from Robert Z. Lewis which I read just a few moments ago.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be received.

(Telegram dated July 14, 1954, to Harold H. Velde, chairman, from Robert Z. Lewis, marked "Steuben Exhibit No. 7" for identification, was received in evidence as Steuben exhibit No. 7.)<sup>1</sup>

Mr. VELDE. We will recess at this time on this matter of John Steuben.

(Whereupon, at 10:59 a. m., Thursday, July 15, 1954, the hearing in the above-entitled matter was recessed.)

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<sup>1</sup> Retained in committee files.



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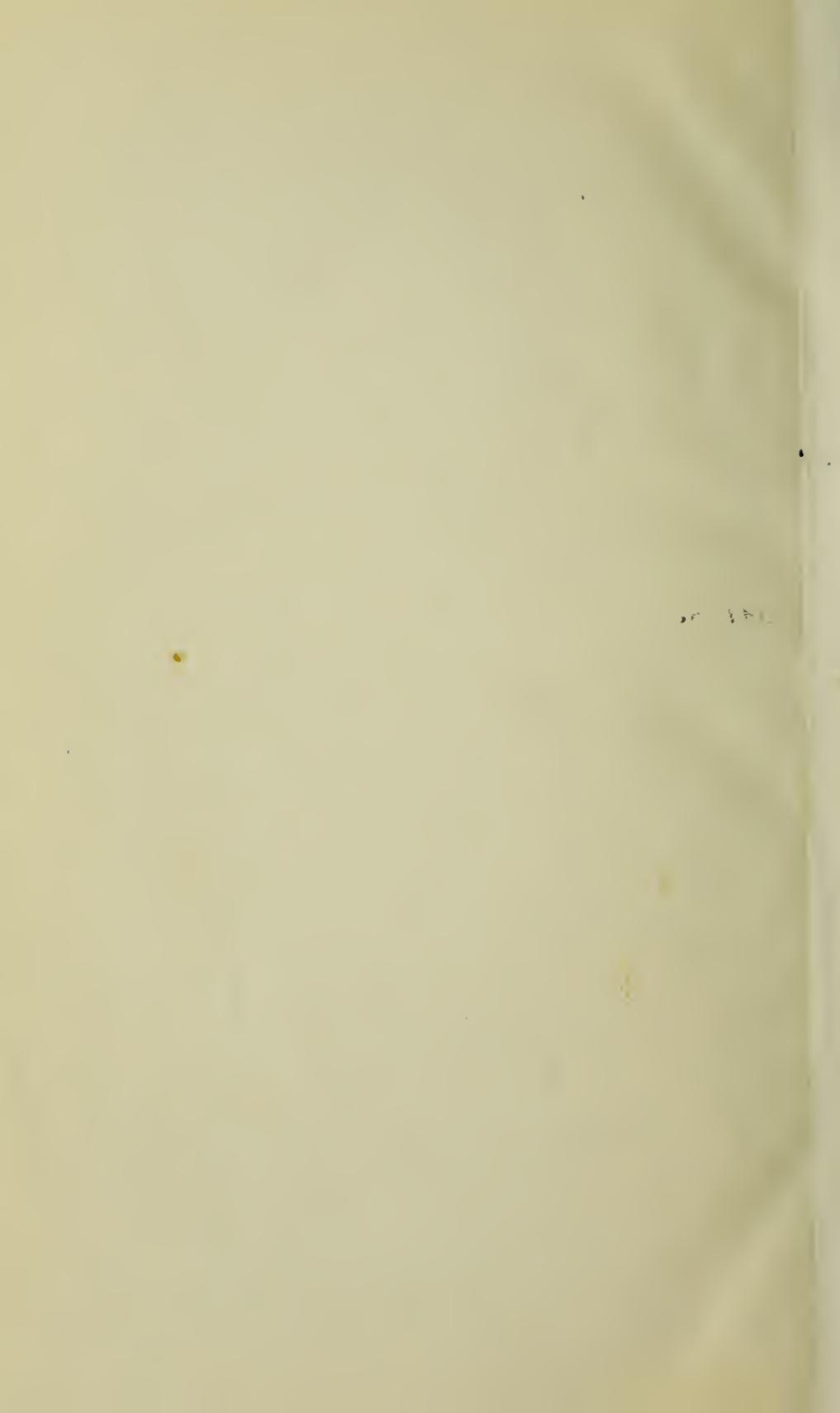






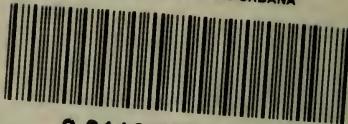






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